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ing in the age of savagery and lawlessness, when every nation was the studied enemy of every other, instead of in an age of vast and varied international co-operation, when international law is well developed and more than nine-tenths of all disputes between nations are adjusted by friendly negotiation or arbitration.

Of the seven American policies pointed out by the Navy League as depending finally on a strong navy, not one that has still any virtue in it requires the addition of a single ship to our already overgrown fleet. Indeed, the reduction of the fleet to half its present size would leave these policies as respected and safe as they actually are—or rather as they were before our navy became so large as to awaken suspicion and fear in more than one quarter of the world.

To talk, as the Navy League does, of the "economies" of the navy, now costing \$130,000,000 a year, is little short of comical. Of course, battleships are cheaper than battles; anybody knows that. But navies, the same as armies, are the result of wars of the past, of the enmities, suspicions, and fears growing out of them, and of preparation for possible wars in the future. Their cost must therefore be added to the general war expenses of the nation, not subtracted from them.

The theory of the Navy League that the navy is insurance—cheap insurance—against the cost of war is pure illusion. Navies have much oftener been the cause of war than of the avoidance of it. Turkey possibly lost Tripoli because of naval weakness, but Italy made her wicked and shameful attack upon Turkey in Tripoli because of her superior naval strength. Most of England's eighty little wars on weak peoples during the past century would never have taken place had not her navy been temptingly large. The chief cause of the present strain between Great Britain and Germany has been the growth, in rivalry, of the two navies, and if the dread rupture ever comes the gigantic navies will have been the immediate cause.

The services pointed out by the Navy League as rendered by the navy outside the sphere of war were performed for the most part when the naval establishment was much less than it is today, and any similar services in the future could be effectively performed by a fleet only one-half or one-quarter the size of the present navy.

The force which the diplomacy of the United States has had in international affairs has been due in large measure to its straightforwardness, honesty, and fairness, and not to a powerful navy, and this is what has given us our rank and prestige among the nations.

The pitiable attempt to show that the peace of the world is dependent on a powerful navy is the final evidence that the Navy League feels the untenableness of its position. "Arbitrators' decisions have not always been accepted," but they have been accepted about 249 times out of 250. The one or two exceptions constitute a rather small basis for the addition of Dreadnaughts to the navy at \$15,000,000 each. Navies have never been needed to enforce the decrees

of arbitration courts, nor will they ever be hereafter, unless they should first be used to force unjustly an adversary to arbitrate. Powerful navies are today one of the greatest and most manifest obstacles to the further progress of arbitration and the spirit of peace, and the bigger they grow the farther away from us will peace remain. As it was at the Second Hague Conference, so will it always be, that the heavily armed powers will be the last to yield to the high demands of the age for the universal arbitration of all international controversies.

Nothing could be more unfortunate for our country than the establishment of a National Council of Defense with such powers and such a program of naval construction as the Navy League recommends. Such a Council of Defense would speedily become a meddlesome, exacting political machine the like of which our country has never seen. We should be Europeanized in an incredibly short time. Naval rivalry with other powers would increase ten fold, and our naval budgets would mount to inconceivable heights. Instead of this, Congress ought at once to adopt the policy of NON-INCREASE OF THE NAVY, and of reduction in the naval program at the earliest possible moment that an agreement to this end can be reached with the other powers. That is the only course that is worthy of the nation at the present time, and it is commanded alike by our history and by the high mission which God has set us among the nations to fulfill.

The Anglo-American Centenary.

One of the important things for us all to remember just now is that the Treaty of Ghent was signed December 24, 1814. In connection with this, it is also well that we do not forget the Rush-Bagot agreement, negotiated in the year 1817, by the terms of which the nearly four thousand miles of United States-Canadian boundary have reared neither gun nor fort and witnessed neither the use of the sword nor the battleship. That Great Britain, Canada, and the United States are planning to celebrate the century of peace among the Anglo-Saxon peoples on a magnificent scale in less than two years is familiar to us all. The British committee, headed by Lord Grey, consists of the Premier, the Foreign Secretary, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Bonar Law, A. J. Balfour, and other eminent men. The Canadian committee, headed by Sir Edmund Walker, has the support of Premier Borden, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the like. The American committee, made up from the roll of our prominent public men, already has its program well under way.

What a century this has been for English-speaking civilization! The Maine boundary question settled in 1841; the Oregon boundary controversy adjusted in 1844; the Trent affair, the Behring Sea fishery dispute, the North Atlantic fishery dispute, all adjudicated during this period and in accordance with law, justice, and

right reason. Any one of these great disputes might easily have led to war had it not been for the Rush-Bagot agreement and the spirit which dictated that famous paper.

Certainly we have ample reasons for bending our every effort to make the Anglo-American Peace Centenary a great and memorable event. Every believer in international friendship must do his share to make of it an object-lesson in the glories of peace. It must be made to appeal to the popular imagination. It will find expression in the statue of George Washington in Westminster Abbey, in the monument to Queen Victoria and the bust of William Pitt in Washington, and in other forms along our northern border and in our chief cities. But, most important of all, it should be the occasion for consummating an unlimited treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and this country. It is far less important that we commemorate a hundred years of accomplished peace than that we lay the foundations, broad and deep, of an unending future of peace. Is it asking too much that Anglo-Saxon statesmanship and prudence consecrate these wondrous years of the century that is past by definitely launching a perpetual peace for all Anglo-Saxon peoples?

The St. Louis Peace Congress.

The preparations for the Fourth American Peace Congress at St. Louis the first three days of May are proceeding rapidly. Mr. Arthur D. Call, director of the organization and propaganda work of the American Peace Society, has just spent about two weeks in St. Louis conferring with the leaders of the Business Men's League and co-operating with them in starting the arrangements. The League has taken up the work of organization most enthusiastically, and has decided to raise \$20,000 for the expenses of holding the Congress.

Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Member of Congress, president of the Missouri Peace Society and president of the United States Group of the Interparliamentary Union, has been chosen president of the Congress. That is a most fitting choice in every way.

Mr. James E. Smith, former president of the Business Men's League, who has been actively associated with a number of important conventions, has been chosen chairman of the Organizing Committee. He, in company with the president of the League, Mr. A. G. Shapleigh, will shortly visit the East to try to secure the attendance at the Congress of a number of prominent public men who are interested in the international peace movement.

An Organizing Secretary will be chosen immediately, and will have his office at the headquarters of the Business Men's League. Dr. Stevens, who was secretary of the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, will probably accept the position, which has been offered him.

Headquarters have been opened in the Business Men's League building and a clerical force installed; a publicity secretary has also been appointed, and a wide campaign of publicity in the interests of the Congress will be carried on in the press of the country.

A General Committee to promote the success of the Congress has already been started and a number of distinguished men have accepted membership on the committee.

The Organizing Committee is planning to try to secure attendance at the Congress of representatives from the South and Central American Republics in order that it may be made in fact what it now is in name—the American Peace Congress. The committee expect that at least 4,000 delegates and others will be in attendance. The committees on entertainment, on program, on transportation and reception will shortly be named.

The first subscription to the fund of \$20,000, which it is proposed to raise, was one of \$1,000, and was made at the opening meeting of the Executive Committee by Mr. Robert McCulloch, of the United Railways Company.

All the Peace Societies and all other organizations interested in the peace movement, including universities and colleges, church organizations, individual churches, commercial associations, labor unions, women's societies, clubs, etc., are urged to send one or more delegates each to the Congress. Let the Congress be made the greatest demonstration for international arbitration and peace ever held.

Sixth Annual Convention of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs.

Delegates from sixteen universities of the East and middle West assembled at Philadelphia, December 27-30, to hold the Sixth Annual Convention of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, which is composed of international students' organizations in the leading institutions of higher learning in the United States and Canada. The gathering was especially noteworthy because of the fact that it marked the completion of the fifth year of the association's existence.

Among the delegates were Egyptian, German, Hindu, Bohemian, Japanese, American, Chinese, Porto Rican, Russian, Swedish, South African, Philippine, and Brazilian students. A woman delegate for the first time attended.

The reports of the officers showed that within five years the association has grown from eight charter organizations to twenty-four regular and six associate chapters, extending across the continent from Harvard and Yale in the East to Stanford and Washington in the far West. The reports also disclosed the fact that a similar organization of German cosmopolitan clubs, the "Verband der Internationalen Studenten-Vereine an deutschen Hochschulen," has been founded as the direct result of the efforts of former American cosmopolitans, and that the Association of Cosmopolitan